

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SOUDER. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, is the gentleman aware that since 1973 it has been against the law to use one dime of these funds for abortions overseas, that the Helms amendment of 1973 prohibits the expenditure of any of these funds for abortion?

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Chairman, reclaiming my time, I am aware that we have directly banned abortion funding, but the question and what we have tried to address and what this language tries to address is fungible funding.

The argument of many of us is that in an organization that on the one hand does abortions, and on the other hand does family planning, which I as an individual do not oppose and believe many of these countries do in fact need family planning, that does not take life once life has begun, that these funds, even though they are claimed to be privately raised, are in fact fungible.

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will continue to yield, that is fine. Let us keep the debate honest and talk about fungibility. Let us not use language that implies that these funds can be directly used for abortion.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Chairman, I do believe and what my point is is that these funds can be used directly for abortion, because the money is commingled, and while there is a book-keeping process, the fact is that the actual dollars that are used on abortion are fungible and can be used to commit these heinous acts, and that while we may have differences about the book-keeping, the fact is that this argument is often used when we get into voucher debates by the other side, that to give aid to a private school is promoting religion because those dollars then are fungible and can be used back and forth.

You cannot have it both ways. You cannot argue that the Republicans use fungible money when we advocate vouchers, but it is not fungible when we deal with the abortion argument.

The second question on the gag rule, this is not a question of freedom of speech. This is a question of whether taxpayers' dollars can be used to fund certain types of speech, particularly in countries where they may oppose even family planning in addition to abortion.

For example, in one of the more celebrated cases in the Philippines, where they had laws on what type of population methods could be allowed, we used American taxpayer dollars to try to change laws that at least half of the Americans in a deeply split general public do not favor. Why in the world would it be exporting our beliefs of freedom and democracy to use American taxpayer dollars to undermine democracy in other countries where they have concluded, like in Ireland or the Philippines or whatever the case may

be, that certain laws on abortion and population control are wrong?

Mr. GREENWOOD. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. GILMAN), the distinguished chairman of the Committee on International Relations.

(Mr. GILMAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentleman for yielding me time.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in strong support of the amendment offered by our colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. GREENWOOD) concerning the gag rule and other restrictions on family planning in this bill. Not only do family planning programs help millions by allowing poor women to space the birth of their children, it also saves lives and it is key to sound and sustainable development.

The most distressing aspect of the family planning language in this bill concerns the limits on free speech on organizations that provide much needed technical assistance to the poorest of the poor throughout the developing world. It is my conviction that freedom of speech is a fundamental American value that should be respected, not only in our own Nation, but overseas as well. Freedom of speech is an essential ingredient for democracy to thrive and it is critical to the success of sustainable development efforts promoted by our own Nation.

□ 1030

It is a principle that we wish to advocate throughout the developing world as an embodiment of the genius of the American Democratic experience.

Accordingly, limiting eligibility for U.S. development and humanitarian assistance by requiring foreign nongovernmental organizations to forgo their right to use their own funds to address, within legal and democratic processes, any issue affecting the citizens of their own country is abhorrent to the principles of American democracy and of those rights and privileges bestowed upon our people by our Constitution.

Accordingly, Mr. Chairman, I urge our colleagues to support the Greenwood amendment that incorporates the principles of American democracy and ensures that foreign nongovernmental organizations and multilateral organizations shall not be subject to requirements relating to the use of non-U.S. Government funds for advocacy and lobbying activities, other than those that apply to U.S. nongovernmental organizations receiving assistance under the Act.

I urge my colleagues to vote yes on the Greenwood amendment.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Chairman, on Tuesday this House voted 416 to 1 to defend the Vatican from a vicious campaign of anti-Catholic bigotry by major pro-abortion organizations.

The list of groups who seek the Vatican's ouster from the U.N., which includes the International Planned Parenthood Federation based in London, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, and Pathfinder, to name a few, reads like a Who's Who list of groups lavishly subsidized by U.S. taxpayers.

Many of these groups, Mr. Chairman, aggressively promote abortion on demand in foreign countries. Members will recall that about 100 countries around the world protect the lives of their unborn children from the violence of abortion. If only the family planners would stick with family planning alone, we would not be here arguing this issue today.

I think we should make no mistake about it, this debate is about fat subsidies to the abortion industry. This debate is about how Congress dispenses grant money. This is grant money, I say to my colleagues. There is no entitlement spending involved here. This is grant money. This is discretionary funds.

We have an obligation and a duty, I would respectfully submit, to put conditions on if we feel that it is warranted, and many of us, hopefully the majority of us, will feel that it is indeed warranted.

Mr. Chairman, abortion is violence against children. Earlier one of my colleagues talked about human rights. The most fundamental of all human rights is the right to life, to be free from violence. Chemical poisoning a child with a lethal injection or dismembering an unborn child by ripping his or her arms off the body, which is commonplace in abortion, is anything but benign and compassionate. It is violence against children. It is a gross violation of human rights. That is what this is about today.

Members will recall, Mr. Chairman, that the Mexico City policy is named after a U.N. Population Conference held in Mexico City in 1984. It was there that President Reagan announced that he would no longer contribute to organizations that perform or promote abortions. In its most effective and purest form, in place during the Reagan and Bush years, we generously supported family planning but withheld funds from organizations that promote or perform abortions.

The language in this bill is not the full Mexico City policy. I wish it were. The language in this bill is a compromise, and it is current law. From the pro-life perspective, this legislation is far from perfect. Although it begins by incorporating the pro-life Mexico City policy that was in force for 9 years under Presidents Reagan and Bush, it then gives the President the right to waive these conditions for some recipients. If the President chooses to exercise the waiver, up to \$15 million in U.S. population assistance can go to foreign organizations that perform or promote abortions overseas.